

THE TRVE INFORMER,

Who in the following
DISCOVERSE,

OR
COLLOQVIE,

Discovereth unto the World the
chiefe Causes of the said Distempers in
Great *Brittany* and *Ireland*,

Deduced from their Originals.

Magna est Veritas, & prevalebit.

And also,
A Letter writ by Serjeant-Major
KIRLE, to a Friend at *Winfor*.



Printed in the Yeare, M. DC. XLIII.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
GIFT OF

REV. JOHN S. PENMAN
(COLLECTION OF W. W. LAW)

Mar 12. 1927

(1)

A N

Interlocutory Discourse betwixt *Patricius* and
Peregrin, touching the *Distractions* of the
Times, with the *Causes* of them.

Patricius.



Entle Sir, you are well met, and welcome to *England*, I am heartily glad of your safe arrivall, hoping now to apprehend some happy opportunity whereby I may requite part of those worthy favours I received from you in divers places t'other side of the Sea.

Peregrin. Sir, I am as joyfull to see you, as any friend I have upon the earth; but touching favours, they deserve not such an acknowledgment, I must confesse my selfe to be far in the arreare to you, therefore you teach me what to speake in that point: But amongst other offices of friendship you have beene pleased to do me from time to time, I give you many thanks for the faithfull correspondence you have held with me since the time of our separation by intercourse of letters, the best sort of fuell to warme affection and to keepe life in that noble vertue friendship, which they say abroad, is in danger to perish under this cold *Insular* clime for want of practise.

Patr. Truly, Sir, you should have had an account of matters hence more amply and frequently, but that of late it hath beene usuall, and allowed by authority, to intercept and breake open any letters; but private men need not complaine so much, since the dispatches of Ambassadors, whose packets should be held as sacred as their persons, have beene commonly open'd, besides some outrages offered their houses and servants; nay, since their Majesties Letters under the cabine Signet have beene broke up, and other counterfeited ones printed and published in their names.

Peregrin

Pereg. Indeed I must confesse, the report hereof hath kept a great noyle abroad; and *England* hath suffered much in point of Nationall repute in this particular; for even among *Barbarians* it is held a kinde of sacriledge to open Letters; nay, it is held a baser kind of Burglary, than to breake into a House, Chamber, or Closet: for this is a plundering of our ward things only, but hee who breaks open ones Letters, which are the *Idea's* of the minde, may bee said to rip up his brest, to plunder and rife his very braine, and rob him of his most precious and secretest thoughts.

Patr. Well, let us leave this distastefull subject; when these fatall commotions cease, this custome, I hope, will be abhorred in *England*. But now, that you are newly arrived, and so happily met, I pray bee pleased to make me partaker of some forraigne newes, and how the squares goe betwixt *France* and *Spain*e, those two great wheelles, that draw after their motion (some more, some lesse) all the rest of the *Westerne* world: and when you have done, I will give you account of the state of things in *England*.

Pereg. I thought you had so abounded with domestick newes, that you had had no list or leisure to heare any forraigne; but to obey your commands, you know that I have beene any time this six yeares a wanderer up and downe the world; and truly I could not set foot on any Christian shore that was in a perfect condition of peace, but it was engag'd either in a direct, auxiliary, or collaterall warre, or standing upon its guard in continuall apprehensions and alarmes of feare: For, since that last flaming Usher of Gods vengeance, that direfull Comet of the yeare 1618. appear'd in the Heavens, some malignant and angry ill-aspected star hath had the predominance ever since, and by its malignant influxes, made strange unusuall impressions upon the humours of Subjects, by inciting them to such insurrections, revolts, and tumults; which caused a Jewish Rabbi to say lately, that it seemes the grand *Turke* thrives extraordinarily in his devotions, it being one of his prime prayers to *Mahomet*, that he should prevaile with God Almighty to continue dissensions still among Christian Princes. And truly as the case stands, one may say, that the Christian world is all in pieces; you know well with what fearefull fits of a high burning fever poore *Germany* hath beene long shaken, which hath wrought a Lethargie in some of her members, by wasting of the vitall spirits, which should diffuse themselves equally through that great body; and how

she still fostereth a cold *Northerne Guest* within her bosome, and is annuall feare of a worse from the *Levant*: In the *Netherlands* one shall heare the half-starved souldier murmur in every corner, and railing against his King, and ready to mutiny for want of pay. In *France* you shall see the poore *Asinine* Peasant half weary of his life, his face being so pitifully ground, ever and anon with new taxes. You know there are two *Souveraigne Princes*, who have a long time wandred up and downe in exile, being outed out of their own antient Patrimoniall Territories, and little hope yet God wot, of restoring them. The world knowes how *Savoy* is become of late a kinde of Province to *France*. *Nay*, *Spaine*, who hath beene so dexterous to put her neighbours together by the eares, and to foment warre a farre off, to keepe her owne home secure, is now her selfe in the midst of two fearefull fires, kindled on both sides of her by quite-revolted Subjects, the *Portugues* and *Catalan*, and is so puzzled, she cannot tell what Saint to pray unto. The *Venetian* also, with the *Pope*, and all the Princes of *Italy* are arming apace; the *Hollander* only, *Salamander-like*, thrives in these flames; and as I have heard of some, that by a long habituall custome, could feed on poyson, and turne it to nourishment, so *Hanse* alone growes fat by these wars.

And being weary of eating my bread in such a distracted world abroad, and hoping to take some sweet repose in *England*, I finde that she is in as bad a case, if not worse, than any other. So much newes I give you in a lump, I will be more particular with you some other time, if you please to spare me now.

Patr. I heare, not without much resentment, these pithy expressions you have been pleased to make of the torn estate of *Europe* abroad, and since you mention that *blazing star*, I remember what a Noble Knight told me some yeares agoe, That the *Astronomers*, who lay sentinell to watch the motion and aspect of that *Comet*, observed, that having pointed at divers Climats, at last it seem'd to looke directly to these *North-west Islands*, in which posture it spent it selfe, and so extinguished; as if thereby it meant to tell the world, that these islands should be the Stage whereupon the last Act of the Tragedie should be plai'd. And how many *Scenes* have passed already, both here and in *Ireland*, we know, God wot, by too too wofull experience.

Pereg. There is a saying, *When your neighbours house is on fire, by its light you may see in what danger your owne stands.* And was *England* so blind

de, as not to take warning by so many fearful combustions abroad: When I took my leave last of her, I left her in such a compleat condition of happineffe, both in *Court, Countrey, Citty and Sea*, that she was the envie of all *Europe*, in so much, that that *Golden Verse* might be fitly applied to her *then Golden times*:

Mollia secura peragebant otia Gentes.

The *Court* was never so glorious, being hanfell'd every yeer almost with a new Royall Off-spring; the *Gentrie* no where more gallant and sportfull; the *Citizens* never more gorgeous and rich, and so abounding with treasure, bullion and buildings, that no age can parallel; *Commerce* inward and outward was never at that height; the *Customes* increasing every yeer to admiration; the narrow *Seas* were never guarded with braver Ships, nor the *Navie* Royall for number of Vessels and Magazines of all sorts of materials was ever so well replenished; the *Universities* had never such golden dayes; and lastly, the *Church* did so flourish, that amongst the rest of the Reformed Churches of Christendom, I have heard her call'd the *Church Triumphant*.

Besides, *Ireland* was arriv'd almost to the same degree of prosperitie, for all the Arrerages of the Crown were paid, and not a peny sent hence for many yeers to maintain the standing Armie there, or for any other publique charge, as formerly; *Traffique* came to that monstrous height, that in few yeeres the Crown-customes came to be five times higher. In fine, *Ireland* was brought not onely to subsist of her selfe, but inabled to contribute towards the filling of the *English* Exchequer, and to make some retribution of those vast expences the Crown of *England* hath been at any time these 400 yeers, to reduce her to civillitie; her bogs were almost all dri'd up, and made good land, her mudwals turn'd apace to Bricke in divers places; so that one Sommer that I fortun'd to be there, above 50. new Bricke-houses were built in one Town. But it hath been the fate of that Island to be oftentimes neer a condition of a settled happineffe, and yet to have some odde accident still intervenet to crosse it.

In conclusion, there wanted nothing to make *England* and her united Crownes so exactly blessed, that she might have assumed the Title of one of the *Fortunate Islands*. Good Lord, how comes it to passe, that she is now fallen into such horrid distempers, and like a distracted bodie, laying hands upon her selfe, would thrust the sword of civill war into her own bowels? I beseech you, Sir, impart unto me the true

cause of this change, for I know none so capable to do it as your selfe!

Patr. Infandum Peregrine, jubes renovare dolorem.

First, Sir, in the generall you know, that it is with the Regions upon *Earth*, as it is with those of the *Ayres* sometimes we have a clear azur'd skie, with soft gentle ventilations, and a sweet serenitie throughout the whole Hemisphere; at other times we know the face of the Heavens is overcast with frownes, with Frog vapours, and thicke cloudes of various shapes, which look like Monsters, hovering up and down, and break at last into thunder and fulgurations, and so disquiet and raise a kinde of war in the *Aereal Common-wealth*. Just so in the Regions that are dispers'd up and down this earthly Globe, & peopled with men (which are but a composition of the *Elements*) you have sometimes a gentle calme of peace and quietude, with a generall tranquillitie all the Countrey over; at other times you have ugly mishapen cloudes of jealousies, feares and discontentments do rise up, which break out at last into acts of disobedience, rebellion, and furie. And as those *Aereall Meteors* and *Monsters* above are ingendered of those watery fogges and mists which are drawn up out of fenny and rotten low grounds here upon earth; so in the *Region of the minde*, the ill vapours which ascend to the brain from rotten and impostumated hearts, from desperate and male-contented *humorists* are the causes of all civill commotions and distempers in State. But they have much to answer for in the world to come (though they escape it in this) who for any private interest or respect whatsoever, either of *Promotion*, *Vain glorie*, *Revenge*, *Malice*, or *Envie*, will embroyle and plunge their own native Countrey in any publike ingagement or civill war, by putting a partition-wall betwixt their soveraigne Prince and their fellow Subjects. Truly, in mine opinion, these may be called the worst kinde of *Betrayers* of their Countries: but I am too farre transported from satisfying your request in relating the true causes of these calamities: I will now fall to worke, and bring you to the very source of them.

There is a packe of perverse People (composed for the most part of the scummy and simplest sort) multiplied in *England*, who by a kinde of naturall inclination, are opposite so point blanke to *Monarchie* in State, and *Hierarchie* in Church, that if they were in Heaven (whither 'tis to be feared they run a great hazard ever to enter, it being a Rule, that *he who is rotten hearted to his King, can never be right hearted to his Greatur*) I say, if these men were in Heaven, they would go near to

repine at the *Monarchicall* Power of God Almighty himfelfe, and at the degrees of Angels, and the poftures of holineffe in the Church Triumphant. They call every *Crotchet* of the brain, *tenderneffe of confcience*: which being well examined, is nothing elfe but a meer *fpiris of contradiction* and difobedience (to all higher Powers) which poffeffeth them. There are no Conftitutions either Ecclefiaticall or Civill can pleafe them, but they could caft both into fuch a mould, which their crack'd braines would fain devife, yet are never able to bring to any perfection; they are ever labouring to bring Religion to the dock, to be new trimm'd, but they would take down her fore-catte, and fcarce allow her the Kings Armes to adorn her; they are great liftners after any Court newes, and pricke up their eares when any thing is fpoken of King, Queen, or Privie Counfellour, and are alwayes ready though upon loofe truft, to take up any report whereby they may whifper in Coaventicles and corners, and fo traduce the Government. Thefe great Zealots ufe to look upon themfelves moft cōmonly through multiplying glaffes, which make them appear to be fuch huge *Santons*, that it renders them not onely uncharitable in their opinions of others, but Luciferian-like proud in their own conceit, infomuch that they feem to fcorne all the world befides, believing that they are the onely Elect, whofe foules worke according to the motion of the Spirit; that they are the Children of promife, *whoſe faces alone look towards Heaven*; they are more pleaſed with ſome new reach or fancie, (that may puzzle the *pericranium*) than a Frenchman is with ſome new faſhion in cloathing; they are neareſt to the nature of the Jew of any people upon earth, and will converſe with him ſooner than with ſome ſort of Chriſtians; and as in the Pharifaicall *Diſpoſition* they ſymboliſe with the Jew, ſo in ſome of their *Poſitions* they jumpe pat with the *Ieſuit*; for though they are both in the extremes, and as contrary one to the other as the ſcales of a Diameter, yet their opinions and praćtices are concentricque to depreſſe Regall power; both of them *would binde their Kings in chaines, and the Nobles in linkes of iron*; they both deny all *paſſive obedience*, and as the one would have the mortar of the Temple tempered with bloud, ſo the other would beat Religion into the brain with the Pole-axe. Their greateſt maſter-piece of policie is to forge counterfeit newes, and to divulge and diſperſe it as farre as they can, to amuſe the world, for the advancement of their Deſignes, and ſtrengthening of their partie: but the *Ieſuit* doth it more cunningly

and modestly, for he fetcheth his newes from farre, so that before the falshood of it can be controll'd, his worke is commonly done, and the newes forgotten; but these later *Politicians* use to raise lyes hard by home, so that the grosse and palpableness of them is presently discovered. Besides, to avoid the extremes of the other, these later seem fall into flat prophaneness, for they may be called a kinde of enemies to the very *Name, Crosse, and Church* of Christ. Touching the first, they repine at any reverence to be done unto it, though spontaneous, not coercive. For the second, which was held from the beginning to be the *badge and banner* of a Christian, they crie it up to be the *marke of the beast*; and for the last, they would have it to be neither *beautiful, holy, nor amiable*, which are the three main properties which God requires in his House. To conclude, when any comes to be season'd with this sower leaven, he seemes to degenerate presently from the nature and garbe of a Gentleman, and falls to be of a sordid and low disposition, narrow hearted, and close handed; to be timorous, cunning and jealous, and farre from the common freedom, and sweetness of morall societie, and from all generous and loyall thoughts towards his King and Countrey.

These, these have been the chiefeest machinators, and engineers of these unhappy Divisions, who Viper like have torne the entrails of their own mother, their dear Countrey; but there were other externe concurrent causes, and to finde them out, I must look *Northward*, for there the Cloud began to condense first;

You know Sir, the *Scotish Nation* were ever used to have their King personally resident amongst them; and though his late Majestie by reason of his *age, bountie, and long breeding* there, with other advantages, drew such extraordinary respect from them, that they continued in good conformitie; yet since his death, they have been overheard to mutter at the *remoteness* and absence of their King, and that they should become now a kinde of *Province* by reason of such a distance: some of their Nobles and Gentry found not at the English Court, nor at his Majesties Coronation in *Edenburgh* that *countenance, familiaritie, benefit, and honours*, which haply they expected, and 'tis well known who he was, that having been denied to be *lorded*, took a pet, and went discontented to his Countrey, hoping that some Title added to the wealth he had got abroad, should have purchased him more respect. These discontented parties tamper'd with the mercenary Preachers up and

down *Scotland*, to obtrude to the People what Doctrines they put into their mouthes, so that the Pulpits every where rung of nothing but of invectives against certain obliquities and solœcismes (and I cannot tell what) in Government, and many glances they had upon the *English Church*; yet all this while there was not matter enough for an insurrection, nor to dispose the Peoples hearts to a mutinie, untill by the policie (as some affirmed) of the said *discontented partie*, the *English Liturgie* was sent thither: this by the incitement of those fiery *Pulpiteers*, was cried up to be the greatest Idoll that possibly could be brought into their *Kirk*, insomuch that when it was first offer'd to be read, the women and baser sort of mechanickes threw stooles and stones at the Bishops heads, and were ready to tear them in pieces: and here began the storme. His Majestie having notice hereof, sent a most gracious Proclamation, signifying, that whereas he had recommended that *Book* to be practic'd amongst them, wherein he himselfe served God Almighty twice a day, he did it out of a pious endeavour to breed an *uniformitie* of publike Divine Service in all his Dominions, specially in that his *native Kingdom*. But since it had produced such dangerous effects, he was contented to revoke it absolutely; for it was never his purpose to *presse* the practise of the said *Book* upon the consciences of any, he did onely *commend*, not absolutely *command* the use of it: therefore he exhorted and required that every one unto whom it had given any scandall, should returne to his pristine obedience, and serve God as formerly, offering herewith a gracious pardon, and to passe an Act of *Amnestia* for an abolition of all faults passed.

Peregr. And would not this suffice? In naturall motions we finde that the cause being taken away, the effect ceaseth, and will not this hold in civill Actions?

Patr. No, this would not serve the turne, but there was a further reach in it, and for an inch to take an ell: you know, the *Scots* since their *single Lion* came to quarter with our *three*, are much elevated in their spirits, more respected, employed and trusted abroad, and heightened in their resolutions and aimes, and will questionlesse be dayly more and more. You have heard of a mine that reach'd from our Exchequer to *Edenburgh*. And I beleive you have not forgot *Boscolinies* balance, that was shewed us in *Italie*, wherein *Lorenzo de Medici* weighed all the States of Christendom, and throwing in *England* amongst the rest, you know how much he made her to weigh lesse by this addition.

tion. The former *Proclamation* I say, and *Pardon* would not suffice, but they took opportunitie to fish in those troubled waters, and vent their spleen further, by an utter extirpation of *Episcopacie*, and by trampling the *Mitre* under their feet, hoping to have some of the birds plumes, being pluckt, to feather their own nests; and they brought their worke about. Good Lord, what a deal of dirt was presently thrown into the *Bishops* faces by every rurall petty Clerke! what infamous Ballads were sung; what a thicke cloud of Epidemicall hatred hung suddenly over them, so farre, that a Dog with blacke and white spots was called a *Bishop* amongst them up and down the streets.

The chiefeſt Contrivers of this uproar, finding their *Designe* to go on so well, and perceiving the whole Countrey so eagerly bent against *Bishops*, (and what artifices and suggestions were us'd to render them so odious is incredible) but finding withall his Majestie unwilling to alter the Government his father (of so fresh and famous Memorie) had left him, and to which he had been sworne at his Coronation, they put themselves in Armes, and rais'd Forces to beat down the *Mitre*, with the *Sword*, if the *Scepter* would not do it. To the frontiers they came with a great Armie, (not halfe so great as was bruted) pretending they came as Petitioners (though they brought their Petition upon their Pikes point.) Some of the great ones about the King grew cold in the action: and what a Pacification was then shuffled up, and how a Parliament was called thereupon in *Scotland*, with other passages, is a fitter subject for a storie than a discourse.

Peregr. I could have wish'd two things, that either his Majestie had given them battail then, having the flower of his Nobilitie and Gentry with him, who I understood came with all chearfulnesse and promptitude to attend him, or else that after the said Pacification, his Majestie had shaken off all jealousies, and with a royall freedom and a commanding confidence gone amongst them to hanſell their new Parliament House at *Edenburgh*; for it is probable, it had averted those showers and cataracts of miseries which have fallen upon us since: but I pray Sir, proceed.

Patr. As they say, *There is no winde but blowes some bodie good*, so it was thought, this Northerne Cloud did *England* some advantage, for a Parliament was summon'd hereupon; a Parliament do I call it? It was rather an *Embryo* of a Parliament, an *Ephemeran* of 20 dayes. In this sitting his Majestie declared unto both Houses the indignities he

had received by his Scotch Subjects, and therefore purpos'd a supply to be made of 12 Subsidies to suppress that Rebellion; and in lieu thereof he was willing to forbear and utterly abolish the Ship-money, which he had reason to thinke legall at first, being advis'd thereunto by *Noy* his Attourney Generall, who had such a mighty repute in the Law; yet he would not rest there, but he advis'd further with his *learned Councell*, who concurred in opinion with *Noy*; nor would he rest there also, but he had the approbation of all the *Judges singly*, and afterwards the *major* part of all the Twelve, *joynly* upon a Demurre. This was enough to induce his conscience to hold it legall all this while; it was clearly proved that the monies levied this way, were employed to no other but the intended service, *The guarding of the narrow Seas*; and not onely for that, but to preserve his right of Dominion in them, being the fairest flower of his Crown, which was not onely discourf'd of abroad, but began to be questioned: and touching danger, how could *England* be but in apparent dangers? considering how all her next neighbours were in actuall hostilitie, which made huge Fleets of Men of War, both *French, Dunkerks, Hamburgers and Hollanders* to sail ever and anon in her *Channels*, and hard before her royall *Chambers*: nor came there one penny of that publike Contribution to his private Coffers, but he added much of his own Demeanes for the maintenance of a Royall Fleet every Sommer: yet he was ready to passe any Bill for the utter abolishing of the said *Ship money*, and for redressing of any other grievances, provided they would enable him to suppress this *Scots* Rebellion: some say the House was inclinable to comply with his Majesties demands, but (as the ill spirit would have it) that Parliament was suddenly broke up, and I would that they who gave that Counsell had been in *Arabia*, or beyond the Line, in their way to *Madagascar*, who neverthelesse have got to be in high request with this present Parliament.

His Majestie being reduced to these streights, and resenting still the insolence of the *Scots*, propos'd the businesse to his Privie Councell, who suddenly made up a considerable and most noble sum for his present supply, whereunto divers of his domesticke Servants and Officers did contribute. Amongst others who were active herein, the Earle of *Strafford* bestirr'd himselte notably, and having got a Parliament to be called in *Ireland*, he went over, and with incredible celeritie raised 8000 men, who procured money of the Parliament to maintain them,

and

and got over those angry Seas again in the compasse of lesse than six weekes. You may infer hence to what an exact uncontrollable obedience he had reduced that Kingdom, as to bring about so great a worke with such a suddennesse and facilitie.

An Armie was also raised here, which marched to the North, and there fed upon the Kings pay a whole Sommer. The *Scot* was not idle all this while; but having punctuall intelligence of every thing that passed at Court, as farre as what was debated in the Cabinet Counsell, and spoken in the Bed-chamber, (and herein amongst many others, he had infinite advantage of us) He armed also, and preferring to make *England* the stage of the War, rather than his own Countrey, and to invade rather than to be invaded, He got over the *Tweed*, and found the passage open, and as it were made for him all the way till he came to the *Time*, and though there was a considerable Armie of Horse and Foot at *Newcastle*, yet they never offered so much as to face him all the while. At *Newburgh* indeed there was a small skirmish; but the *English* Foot would not fight, so *Newcastle* gates flew open to the *Scot* without any resistance at all, where it is thought he had more friends than foes, and who were their friends for this Invasion, I hope *Time*, and the *Tribunall* of Justice will one day discover.

His Majestie being then at *Torke*, summoned all his Nobles to appear, to advise with them in this exigence: Commissioners were appointed on both sides, who met at *Rippan*, and how the hearts and courage of some of the *English* Barons did boil within them, to be brought to so disadvantageous a Treatie with the *Scot*, you may well imagine. So the Treatie began, which the *Scot* would not conforme himselfe unto, unlesse he were made first *Reſtus in-Curia*, and the Proclamation wherein he was declared Traitour, revoked; alleadging it would be dishonourable for his Majestie to treat with Rebels. This Treatie was adjourned to *London*, where this present Parliament was summoned (which was one of the chiefeſt errands of the *Scot*, as some thinke. And thus farre by these sad and short degrees, have I faithfully led you along to know the true *Originals* of our calamities.

Peregr. Truly Sir, I must tell you, that to my knowledge these unhappy traverses with *Scotland*, have made the *English* suffer abroad very much in point of Nationall honour; therefore I wonder much that all this while there is none set a worke to make a solid Apologie for *England* in some communicable Language, (either in *French* or *Latin*).

to rectifie the world into the truth of the thing, and to vindicate her, how she was bought and sold in this Expedition, considering what a partie the *Scot* had here, and how his comming in, was rather an *Invitation* than an *Invasion*, and I believe if it had been in many parts of the world besides, some of the Commanders had gone to the pot.

Patr. It is the practise of some *States* I know, to make sacrifice of some eminent minister, for *publike mistakes*: but to follow the thred of of my Discourse. The Parliament being sate, His Majestie told them, That he was resolved to cast himselfe wholly upon the affection and fidelitie of his People, whereof they were the Representative Bodie; therefore He wished them to go roundly on to close up the ruptures that were made by this unfortunate War, and that the two Armies, one domestique, the other forreigne, which were gnawing the very bowels of the Kingdom, might be dismissed. Touching grievances of any kinde (and what State was there ever so pure, but some corruption might creep into it;) He was very ready to redresse them: concerning the *Ship-money*, He was willing to passe a Bill for the utter abolition of it, and to establish the proprietie of the Subject; therefore he wished them not to spend too much time about that. And for *Monopolies*, he desired to have a list of them, and he would damne them all in one Proclamation: Touching ill *Counsellours*, either in *Westminster Hall*, or *White Hall*, either in *Church* or *State*, he was resolved, to protect none, therefore he wished that all jealousies and mis-understandings might vanish: This, with sundry other straines of princely grace he delivered unto them, but withall he told them, that they should be very cautious how they shook the frame of Government too farre, in regard it was like a *Watch*, which being put asunder, can never be made up again, if the least pin be left out.

So there were great hopes of a Calme, after that cold Northern Storme, and that we should be suddenly rid of the *Scot*, but that was least intended, untill some Designs were brought about. The Earle of *Strafford*, the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, the *Judges*, and divers *Monopolists* are clapt up, and you know who took a timely flight to the other side of the sea: and in lieu of these, the *Bishop* of *Lincolne* is enlarged, *Bastwick*, *Burton*, and *Prynne* are brought into *London*, with a kinde of *Hosanna*. His Majestie gave way to all this, and to comply further with them, he took as it were into his bosome, I mean, he admitted to his Privie Counsell those Parliament Lords, who were held the greatest Zelots amongst them, that they might be witnesses of his secretest actions; and

and to one of them He gave one of the considerablest Offices of the Kingdom, by the resignation of another most deserving Lord, upon whom they could never fasten misdemeanour; yet this great new *Officer* will come neither to the same Oratorie, Chappell, or Church, to joyne in Prayer with his Royall Master, nor communicate with him in any publike exercise of devotion; and may not this be called a true *Refusancie*? To another he gave one of the prime and most *reposefull* Offices about his own Person at Court, and thereby he might be said to have given a *Staffe* to bear himselfe. Moreover, partly to give his Subjects an Evidence how firmly he was rooted in his *Religion*, and how much he desired the strengthening of it abroad; the Treatie of marriage went on 'twixt his *eldest daughter* and the young Prince of *Orange*. Hereunto may be added as a speciall Argument of compliance and grace, the passing of the Bill for a *Trienniall* Parliament; and lastly, (which is the greatest evidence that possibly can be imagined, of that reall trust and confidence he reposed in them) He passed the Act of Continuance.

Peregr. Touching the *Trienniall* Parliament, there come some wholefome fruit out of it, for it will keep all Officers in awe, and excite the Nobilitie, and young Gentrie of the Kingdom to studie, and understand the Government of the Land, and be able to fit and serve their Countrey in this great Senate; but for this Act of Continuance, I understand it not; *Parliaments are good Physicke, but ill meat*; they say abroad that *England* is turned hereby from a *Monarchie* to a *Democracie*, to a perpetuall kinde of *Dictatorship*; and whereas in former times there was an *Heptarchie* of seven Kings in her, They say now she hath seventy times seven. But in lieu of these unparallel'd Acts of grace and trust to the Parliament, what did the Parliament for the King all this while?

Patr. They promised, specially upon the passing of the last Act, *That they would make him the most glorious, the best beloved, and richest King that ever reigned in England*: and this they did with deep protestings and asseverations. But there interviened an ill-favoured accident which did much hurt, *viz.* A *Discourse* (for truly I thinke it was no more) which some green heads held to bring up the Northerne Armie, to checke the Puritan partie, and the rabble of the Citie: This kept a mighty noise, and you know who fled upon it, and much use was made of it to make that Cloud of Jealousie which was but of the breadth of an hand before, to appear as big as a mountain. Yet his Maiestie continued still in passing Acts of Grace, and complying with them in eve-

ry thing. He put over unto them the Earle of *Strafford*, who after a long costly Triall (wherein he carried himfelfe with as much acute-
neffe, dexteritie, and eloquence, as humane brain could be capable of
for his defence) he was condemned to the Scaffold, and fo made a fa-
crifice to the *Scot*, who ftayed chiefly for his head, which befides thofe
vaft fummef of money, was given him to boot.

Peregr. Touching the Earle of *Strafford*, 'tis true he was full of abi-
litie, elocution, and confidence, and underftood the Lawes of *England*
as well as any, yet there were two things, I heard, wherein his wifdom
was questioned; firft, that having a charge readie againft his chiefest
Accufers, yet he fuffered them to have the prioritie of fute, which if
he had got, he had thereby made them Parties, and fo incapable to be
produced againft him. Secondly, that during the time of his Triall,
he applied not himfelfe with that compliance to his *Jury* as well as to
his *Iudges*, for he was obferved to comply onely with the Lords, and
not with the Houfe of Commons.

Patr. Howfoever, as fome fay, his Death was refolved upon, (*fi non
per viam Iuftitiae, faltem per viam expedientiae*) which appeares in regard
the proceedings againft him are by a claufe in the Act not to be produ-
ced for a leading cafe or example to future ages and inferiour Courts.
I blufh to tell you how much the rabble of the Citie thirfted after his
bloud, how they were fuffer'd to strut up and down the ftreets before
the Royall Court, and the Parliament it felfe, with impunitie; they
cried out, that if the *Common Law* fail'd, *club Law* fhould knocke him
down, and their infolencie came to that height, that the names of thofe
Lords that would not doom him to death, fhould be given them to fix
upon pofts up and down; and this was the firft tumult that happened
this Parliament, whereof fo many followed after their example, being
not onely conniv'd at, but backed by Authoritie, for there were prohi-
bitions fent from the Parliament, to hinder all proceffe againft fome of
them.

Thefe *Myrmidons*, as they termed themfelves, were ready at a watch-
word, fo that one might fay there was a kinde of difcipline in diforder.

Peregr. Were there any troubled for delivering their Votes in the
Houfes? I thought that freedom of opinion and fpeech, were one of
the prime Priviledges of that great Nationall Senate.

Patr. Yes, Thofe that were the *Minions* of the Houfe before became
now the fubjects of popular malice, and diftraCTION, becaufe againft the

diſſamen of their conſciences, they would not vote the Earle of *Strafford* to death, and renounce their owne judgements, and captivate it to the ſenſe of others, yet they ſtood firme to their firſt grounds, that hee was a delinquent in a high nature, and incapable ever to beare office in any of his Majeſties dominions.

Per. I perceive Sir by your ſpeeches, that one of the chiefeſt cauſes of theſe combuſtions may be impured to the Citie of *London*, which may be called the *Metropolis* of all theſe evils, and I little wonder at it, for it hath beene alwayes incident to all great Townes, when they grow rich and populous, to fall into acts of insolence, and to ſpurne at government; where ſo many pots (ſo many braines) are a boyling; there muſt needs be a great deale of froth, but let her looke to her ſelf, for Majeſtie hath long armes, and may reach her at laſt. But the truth is, that *London* beares no proportion with the ſize of this Iſland, for either one ſhould be larger, or the other leſſe: *London* may be well compared to the liver of a cram'd Italian gooſe, whoſe fatning emacerrates the reſt of the whole body, and makes it grow leane and languish, and ſhe may well be termed a gooſe now more than ever, for her feathers are pluck'd apace; but now that you have done with the Earle of *Strafford*, what is become of all the reſt who were committed?

Pat. They are ſtill in durance, and have continued ſo theſe two yeares and upward, yet are not proceeded againſt, nor brought to their answer to this very day, though al the Courts of Juſtice have been open ever ſince. Many hundreds more of the beſt ſort of Subjects have beene ſuddenly clapt up, and no cauſe at all mentioned in many of their commitments, and new Priſons made of purpoſe for them, where they may be ſaid to be buried alive, and ſo forgotten, as if there were no ſuch men in the world: and how this can ſtand with *Magna Charta*, with the *Petition of Right* (to vindicate which, there was ſo much paines taken the laſt Parliament) let any man of a ſane judgement determine, Yet one of the Judges, who hath an empeachment of high treaſon ſtill lying Dormant againſt him, though he be not *Reſtus incuria* himſelfe, is ſuffered to ſit as Judge upon the higheſt tribunall of *England*, whereas another for a pretended miſdemeanour onely is barr'd from ſitting there. Others who were at firſt cryed up and branded to be the moſt infamous *projectors* and *Monopolizers* of the land, are not only got looſe, but crept into favour. and made uſe of.

Per. Hath the House of Commons power to commit any but their owne members without Conference with the Lords? Or hath any Order or Ordinance of one of the Houses singly, or of both conjunctly, to enjoyne a virtuall binding power of generall obedience without the *Royall consent*.

Pat. The power of Parliament, when King, Peeres and Commons, which is the whole Kingdome digested into one volume, is indefinite; but what either of both Houses can do of themselves singly, or joyntly, without the King who is the life of the Law, I dare not determine: especially when a visible faction reignes amongst them.

santas componere lites

non opis est nostra

But for mine owne opinion, I think it is as impossible for them to make a Law without the King, as it was for *Paracelsus* to make a man without coition, either for abolishment of old, or establishment of new Lawes. The results of Parliament without the Royall consent, are as matches without fire; And it is an incontrollable principle, that the old Law must be our guide, till new be made; nor is any Act of the Subject justifiable, but what is warrantable by the old. But to proceed in the true discovery of these Domestick scissures, my Lord of *Strafford* being gone, we hop'd faire weather would follow, (He who was the cause of the tempest, being throwne over-board) but unluckie mists of jealousie grew thicker and thicker; Yet the *Scots* were dismiss, having had Fidlers fare, meat, drinke, and money, for eleven long moneths together. So his Majestie went to *Scotland*, where the Parliament there, did but aske and have any thing, though it be the unquestionable prerogative of Majestie to grant or denie Petitions, and to satisfie his conscience before any Councell.

But during his sojourn there, this formidable hideous Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, which though it may be said to be but an old play newly reviv'd, yet the Scene was never so Tragicall and bloody as now: for the Barbarismes that have been committed there have been so sanguinarie, and monstrously salvage, that I thinke posterity will hold them hyperbolicall. The *Irish* themselves affirm there concurr'd causes to kindle this fire. One was the taking off *Straffords* head, (who aw'd them more then any Deputy ever did) and that one of his Accusations should be to have used the Papists there too favourably. Secondly, the rigorous proceedings and intended courses against the Papists

pists here in *England*. Lastly, the stopping of that *Regiment of Irish*, who was promised by his Majesties Royall word and letter to the King of *Spaine*, who relying upon that employment, rather than to beg, steale, or sterve, turned Rebels: And that which hath aggravated the rebellion all this while, and heightned much the spirit of the *Irish*, is the introduction of the *Scot*, whom they hate in perfection above all people els, and the designe spoken of in our *Parliament*, to make an absolute Conquest, and Nationall Eradication of them, which hath made them to make vertue of necessity, and to be valiant against their wills.

Per. Indeed I heard that Act of staying the *Irish* Regiment, considering how the Marquesses de *Valada*, and *Malvezzi*, and *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, who were all three Ambassadors here for the King of *Spaine* at that time, having by relyance upon the sacred word and letter of a King, imprested money, and provided shipping for their transport, and been at above 10000. Crowns charges, I say this act was very much censured abroad, to the dishonor of his Majesty, and our reproch.

Patr. I am very sorry to heare it. Well Sir. His Majesty by his presence having settled *Scotland*, was at his returne to *London* received with much joy, and exultation, but though he was brought in with a *Hosanna* at one end of the Towne, he found a *Crucifixe* at the other: For at *Westminster* there was a Remonstrance fram'd, a worke of many weeks, and voted in the dead of night, when most of the moderate, and well-thought Members were retired to their rest, wherein with as much industry and artifice as could be, the least moat in government was exposed to publike view, from the first day of his Majesties inauguration to that very houre: Which Remonstrance as it did no good to the publike; but fill peoples heads with doubts, and their hearts with gall and retard the procedure of all businesse besides, so you may wel think, it could expect but cold entertainment with his Majesty, who hoped his great Councell according to their often deep protestations, had done something for his welcome home, that might have made him the best beloved King that ever was amongst his people.

Per. 'Tis true, there is no Government upon earth, made up of men, but is subject to corruption, there is no Court of Judicature so cleane, but some cobwebs may gather in it, unlesse an Act of Parliament could be made to free and exempt men from infirmities and error; It cannot be denied, but *Scotland* might have something to complaine of (though I thinke least of any) and so leapt first into the poole to bee

enr'd; and what she fish'd besides in those troubled waters 'tis too well knowne. *England* also no doubt might have some grievances, which his Majestie freely offered, not only to redresse for the present, but to free her of all feares for the future, from falling into relapses of that kinde; but to redresse grievances by Armes, by plunging the whole Countrey into an intestine warre, this makes the remedy worse then the malady, it is as if one would goe about to cure a sick body by breaking his head, or let him bleed by giving him a dash on the nose; it is as mad a trick as his was who set the whole house a fire to roast his eggs. But truly Sir, in my opinion, his Majesty at his returne from Scotland might have justly expected some Acts of compliance and gratitude from his Parliament, considering what unparalleled Acts of Grace he had passed before.

Pat. His Majesty did not rest there, but complied further with them by condescending to an Act for putting down the *Star-Chamber-Court*, the *High Commission*, the Court of *Honour*; nay, he was contented his owne *Privie Councell* should be regulated, and his Forrests bounded not according to ancient *Prerogative*, but late custome; nay further, he passed a Bill for the unvoting, and utter exclusion of the *Spirituall Lords* from the Parliament for ever, whereby it cannot be denyed, but by the cashiering of twenty five votes at a clap, and by excluding the *Recusant Lords* besides (who subsist most by his grace) hee did not a little enervate his owne prerogative. Adde hereunto that having placed two worthy Gentlemen Lieutenants of the Tower, he removed them both one after another, and was content to put in one of their *Election*: And lastly, he trusted them with his greatest strength of all, with his *Navie Royall*, and called home that knowing *Knight* who had the guard of the narrow Seas so many yeares.

Per. Truly Sir, I never remember to have heard or read of such notable Acts of grace and confidence from any King: but would not all this suffice?

Pat. No, But they demanded all the Land Souldiery and military strength of the Kingdome to be disposed of by them, and to be put into what posture, and in what Equipage, and under what Commanders they pleas'd; And this was the first thing his Majesty ever denyed them, yet he would have granted them this also for a *limited time*, but that would not serve the turn, Hereupon his Majestie grew a little sensible, how they inch'd every day more and more upon his royall prerogatives.

gatives and intending to go to his Town of *Hull* to see his Magazine, he was in an hostile manner kept out, Canons mounted, Pistols cockt, and level'd at him. But whether that *Knight* did this out of his *fidelitie* to the Parliament, or out of an apprehension of *fear* that some about the King, being mov'd with the barbarousnesse of the action would have pistol'd him, I will not determine.

Peregr. I have read of divers affronts of this kinde, that were offer'd to the *French Kings*, *Rochel* shut her gates more than once against *Henry* the great, and for the King now regnant, they did not onely shut him out of many of his Townes, but upon the gates of some of them, they writ in legible Characters *Roy sans Foy, Ville sans peur*, A faithlesse King, a fearlesse Town. Yet in the greatest heat of those Warres, there was never any Town refus'd to let in her King, provided he came attended onely with his own train, and besides other people abroad, I heard the *Scoi's* Nation did abhor that Act at *Hull*. But I pray Sir go on.

Patr. His Majestie being thus shut out of one Town, he might justly suspect, that an attempt might be made to shut him in, in some other; therefore he made a motion to the *Torke shire* Gentlemen, to have a guard for the preservation of His Person, which was done accordingly. But I am come too forward, I must go backe and tell you how the King was driven from *Westminster*. When his Majestie was returned from *Scotland*, he retir'd to *Hampton Court*, whence upon the Lord Maior's and the Cities humble sollicitation, he came backe to *White-hall* to keep his Christmas. But when the Bill against Bishops was in agitation, which businesse lasted near upon 10 weekes, a crue of bold sturdie Mechanics, and Mariners, came from the *Citie* and ruffled before *White-hall*, and *Westminster-hall*, and would have violated the Abbie of *Westminster*, so that for many nights a Court of guard was forced to be kept in the bodie of that Church, (the chiefeest *Sanctuarie* of the Kingdom.) Moreover, His Maiestie having impeached some of the Members of both Houses, of high Treason, and being denied to have them delivered up, he went himselfe to the *Lower House* to demand them, assuring the *House* they should have as fair and legall a triall as ever men had. But as it pleased God, they were not there, but retir'd to *London* for refuge; the *Londoners* grew starke wilde thereupon, and notice being sent to all the adjacent Counties, this Act of the Kings (though it wanted no precedents of former times) was aggravated in the highest degree that possibly could be. Hence you may easily inferre, what

(20)
[small security his Majesty had at *White-hall*, and what indignities hee might have exposed himselfe unto, by that which had passed already from the Rabble, who had vilified and cryed *tush* at his Proclamations, and disgorg'd other rebellious speeches with impunity, therefore hee retired to *Hampton Court* (as we read, *our Saviour withdrew himselfe once from the multitude*) thence to *Windsor Castle*, whence accompanying her Majestie, with his eldest daughter to the sea side for *Holland*, and having commanded the Prince to attend him against his returne at *Greenwich*, the Prince had beene surpriz'd and brought to *London*, had not the King come a little before. Thence he removed to *Yorke*, where hee kept his Court all the Sommer.

But to returne to *London*, the very next day after their Majesties departure, the Countrey about, especially *Buckinghamshire* being incited by the Citie and Parliament, came in great swarmes, and joyning with the London mechanicks, they ruffled up and downe the streets, and kept such a racket, making the fearfullest riot that ever I believe was heard of in Parliament time: so those Members which formerly were fled into the Citie, were brought to the *House* in a kinde of triumph, being garded by land and water in warlike manner by these Champions: After this, sundry troopes of Horse came from all the shires neare adjoining to the Parliament, and *Buckingham* men were the first, who while they expressed their love to their *Knights*, forgot their sworne oath to their *King*, and instead of feathers they carried a Printed *Protestation* in their hats, as the Londoners had done a little before upon the Pikes point.

Per. This kept a foule noise beyond Sea I remember, so that upon the *Rialto in Venice*, it was sung up and downe, that a *Midsummer Moon* (though it was then *midst* of *Winter*) did raigne amongst the English, and you must thinke that it hath made the *Venetian* to shrink in his shoulders, and to looke but ill-favourably upon us, since wee'l have none of his currans. But Sir, I heard much of that *Protestation*, I pray what was the substance of it.

Pat. It was penn'd, and injoyn'd by the Parliament for every one to take, and it consisted of many parts, the first was, to maintaine the true Protestant religion against all *Popish* innovations, which word *Popish* (as some think) was serued in of purpose for a loop-hole to let in any other innovation) the second was to maintaine the *Prerogative and honour of the King*; then the power and priviledge of *Parliaments*; and lastly, the propriety
and

and liberty of the Subject; for the two first parts of this Protestation, the people up and downe seemed to have utterly forgotten them, and continue to still, as if their consciences had beene tyed only to the *two last*, and never was there a poore people so besotted, never was reason and common sense so baffled in any part of the world.

And now will I goe to attend his Majestie at Yorke, where as I told you before, being loth to part with his *Sword*, (though he had half parted with his *Scepter* before) by denying the Parliament an indefinite time to dispose of the *Militia*, (alleadging, that as the *Word*, so the *thing* was new) He sends forth his Commissions of *Array* according to the old law of England, which declares it to be the undoubted *right*, and *Royall Signiory of the King, to arme or disarm any Subject*. The *Parliament* sends out clean counter-mands for executing the said *Militia*; so by this clashing twixt the Commission of *Array* and the *Militia*, the first flash of this odious unnaturall war may be said to break out. The pulse of the *Parliament* beat's yet higher, they send an *Admirall* to the sea, not onely *without*, but expressly *against* the Kings speciall command. They had taken unto them a Military gard from the Citie for their protection, without his Majesties consent, who by the advice of the Lord *Keeper* and others, had offered them a very strong gard of Constables and other Officers to attend them, which the laws usually allow; yet the raising of that gard in *Yorkshire* for the safegard of his Majesties person, was interpreted to be levying of warre against the Parliament, and so made a sufficient ground for them to raise an *Armie*, to appoint a *General*, with whom they made publike Declarations to live and die. And they assumed power to conferre a new *appellation* of honour upon him, as if any could conferre honour but the King! And this Army was to be maintained out of the next contribution of all sorts of people; so a great masse of money and plate, was brought into the *Guild-Hall*, the *Semstress* brought in her silver *Thimble*, the Chamber maid her *Bodkin*, the Cook his *Spoones*, and the Uintner his *Bowles*, and every one something to the advancement of so good a worke, as to wage war directly against the Sacred person of their Sovereigne, and to put the whole Countrey into a combustion.

Per. Surely it is impossible that a rationall Christian people should grow so simple and sottish, as to be so far transported, without some colourable cause, therefore I pray tell me what that might be?

Estr. The cause is made specious enough, and varnished over wonder-

derfull cunningly; *The people are made to believe they are in danger, and a prevention of that danger is promised, and by these plausible wayes the understanding is wrought upon, and an affection to the cause is usher'd in, by aggravation of this danger, as one would draw a thred through a needles eye: This huge Bug-bear Danger, was like a monster of many heads, the two chiefeft were these, That there was a plot to let in the Pope; And to cast the civil Government into a French frame; It is incredible to thinke how the Pulpits up and down London did ring of this, by brain-sicke Lecturers, of whom some were come from New-England, others were pick'd out of purpose, and sent for from their own flocke in the Countrey, to possesse, or rather to poyson the hearts of the Londoners, to puzzle their intellectuals, and to intoxicate their braines by their powerfull gifts; It was punishable to preach of Peace, or of Casars right, but the common subiect of the Pulpit was either Blasphemie against God, Disobedience against the King, or Incitements to Sedition; Good Lord, what windy, frothy stufte came from these fanaticke braines! These Phrenetici Nebulones, (for King James gives them no better Character in his Βασιλικὴν Διάταξιν) who may be said to be mad out of too much ignorance; who neverthelesse are come to that height of prophanenesse and pride, that they presume to father all their Doctrines, all their non-sence raptures and ravings upon the holy Spirit. Nor did the Pulpit onely helpe to kindle this fire, but the Presse also did contribute much fewell; What base scurrilous Pamphlets were cried up and down the streets, and dispersed in the Countrey? What palpable and horrid lyes were daily printed? How they multiplied in every corner in such plentie, that one might say there was a supersatiation of lyes, which continue unto this day! One while the King of Denmarke was comming over from the Sound; another while the king of France had an huge Armie about Calais design'd for England; another while there was an Armie of Irish Rebels comming over with the privitie of the King; another while a plot was cried up and down to burne London; another while there were subterranean invisible Troopes mustered under ground in Wales, and thousands of Papists armed in Lancashire, & divers reports of this nature were daily blown up, and though the Authors of them were worthles & mean futilous persons, yet the reports themselves had that credit as to be entertain'd and canvas'd in the high Court of Parliament. But these false rumours produc'd one politicke effect (and it was the end indeed for which they were dispers'd) they did atemorize,*

and fill the peoples hearts with *feares*, and so dispose of them to uproares and to part with money.

Peregr. I know there be sundry sorts of *Feares*; there are *Conscientious* Feares, there are *Pannick* Feares, there are *passillaninow* Feares, and there are *politick* Feares. The first sort of *Fear* proceeds from guilt of Conscience, which turnes often to *phrensie*. The second sort of *Fear* may be call'd a kinde of *Chymera*, 'tis some sudden surprizall or *Conspiration* arising from an unexpected strange accident. *Passillaninow* Fear makes a mountain of a molehill, and proceeds from povertie of spirit, and want of courage, and is a passion of abject and degenerate mindes, and may be call'd *cowardise*, and this Fear is alwayes accompanied with *jealousie*. *Politicke fear*, is a created forg'd Fear wrought in another, to bring some *Designe* about; and as we finde the *Astronomers* (the comparison is too good) do imagine such and such shapes and circles in the Heavens, as *Zodiak*, *Equinoctiall*, *Colures* and *Tropiques*, with others, though there be no such things really in nature, to make their conclusions good; so the *politician* doth often devise and invent false imaginarie Feares, to make his proceedings more plausible amongst the silly vulgar, and thereby to compasse his ends: and as the Sun useth to appear farre bigger to us in the morning than at noon, when he is exalted to his Meridian, and the reason the *philosophers* use to give, is the interposition of the vapours which are commonly in the lower Region, through which we look upon him, as we finde a piece of silver look bigger in a bucket of water than elsewhere, so the *politician* uses to cast strange mists of fear, and fogges of *jealousie* before the simple peoples eyes, to make the danger seem bigger: But truly Sir, this is one of the basest kindes of policie; nor can I believe there be any such *politicians* amongst the *Cabalists* of your Parliament; who pretend to be so busie about Gods worke, *A glorious Reformation*; and you know there is a good Text for it, that *God needeth not the wicked man*, He scornes to be beholding to Lyers to bring about his purposes: But I pray Sir, deal freely with me, Do you imagine there was a *Designe* to bring in the *Masse* again?

Patr. The *Masse*? You may say, there was a plot to bring in *Mahomet* as soon, to bring in the *Alchoran*, or *Talmud* as soon, for I dare pawn my soul, the King is as cordiall a Protestant, as any that breathes under his three Crownes, which besides his publike deep Protestations, and his constant quotidian exemplary open practise, many other convince-

ing private reasons induce me to believe, and it is in vain to thinke the *Pope* can take footing here to any purpose without the *Kings* leave. You know as well as I Sir, that of all the Reformed Churches in Christendom, the *Lutheran* retaines most of the *Roman*, both in his positions and practise, and comes much nearer unto him than we do, yet I have observed, that from the first day of his Reformation, to this, He is as averse, and as farre off from *Rome*, as the rigidest *Calvinist* that is; and shall I thinke, because there are some humble and handsome postures, and decent vestures revived in our Church, for they were never abolished, because the Communion Table stands in the East end where it ever stood since Christianitie came in all our *Cathedrals*, which should be a rule to all interiour Churches, which yet the Seperatist cries out to be an Innovation: because her Majestie hath a few simple Capuchins, fewer then was allowed by the Matrimoniall Capitulations, whither to retire sometimes: Because Schismatickes were proceeded against with more care, and the Government of the Church borne up lately with more countenance, shall I believe that the *Pope* must presently come in? shall I believe the weaknesse of our Religion to be such, as to be so easily shaken and overturn'd? Yet I believe there was a pernicious plot to introduce a new Religion, but what I pray? not *Poperie*, but *Presbyterie*, and with it to bring in the Doctrine of *Buchanan* and *Knox*, for civill Government, and so to cast our Church and State into a *Scots* mould.

Peregr. Indeed, I heard the *English* much censur'd abroad for enslaving as it were their understanding and judgement in points of Religion to the *Scot*, whom they made Christians, and Reformed Christians first, and now for the *English* to run to them for a Religion, and that the *Uniformite* should proceed from them, they having disdain'd us formerly, what a disparagement is it thinke you to the *Anglican* Church? This with other odde traverses, as the ecclipsing the glorie of the King, and bringing him backe to a kinde of minoritie, the tampering with his conscience, I will not say, the straining of it so farre, the depriving him of all kinde of propertie, the depressing of his Regall Power, wherein the honour of a Nation consists, and which the *English* were us'd to uphold more than any other, for no King hath more awfull attributes from his Subjects, as, *Sacred Sovereigne*, *Gracious* and *Most Excellent Majestie*, nor any King so often prayed for, for in your morning Lytwgie he is five times prayed for, whereas other Princes are menti-

oned but once or twice at most in theirs, I say this, with interception of letters, some incivilities offered Ambassadors, and the bold lavish speeches that were spoken of the greatest *Queenes* in Christendome, and his Majesties late withdrawing his Royall protection from some of his Merchant-Subiects in other Countries, hath made the *English* loose much ground in point of esteeme abroad, and to be the *discourse*, I will not say the *scorne* of other people. They sticke not to say, that there is now a worse maladie fallen upon their mindes, then fell upon their bodies about an age since by the *Sweating sicknesse*, which was peculiar only unto them, and found them out under all Climes. Others say, there is a *λυκανθρωπια* amongst them, that they are turn'd to Wolves, (as you know it is a common thing in *Lapland*,) and that the old Adage is verified in them, *Homo homini Lupus*. Nay our next neighbours give out, that the saying was never truer then now, *Rex Anglorum, Rex Diabolorum*. Nor is it a small disrepute to the *English*, that the word *Cavalier*, which is an attribute that no Prince in Christendome will disdain, and is the common appellation of the Nobilitie and Gentry in most parts of the world, is now us'd, not only in Libels and frivolous Pamphlets, but in publike Parliamentary Declarations, for a terme of reproach. But truly Sir, what you have related touching the Pulpit and the Presse, transformes me into wonder, and I should want Faith to believe it, did you not speake it upon your knowledge; but the *English* when they fall to worke upon a new humour, use to overdo all people.

Patr. You have not yet the tith of what I could give you, you would little think that Coachmen, and Feltmakers, and Weavers were permitted to preach up and downe without controlement, and vent their venome against Church and State, to cry down our *Hierarchie* and *Liturgie*, by most base and reviling speeches.

Per. Touching your *Liturgie*, I have heard it censured abroad by the rigidest *Calvinists* of *Geneva* and *Dort*, yet I never heard any other Character given of it, but that it is a most *Pious*, *Pathetick*, and perfect piece of devotion, both for the matter and forme of it, which I have beene a little curious to observe. It begins with some choise passages of holy Scripture, and a previous Declaration or *Monitory* to excite us to the worke in hand; The first addresse we make to God is by an humble and joynt Confession which is applyable to any conscience, and comprehends in it all kind of sins. Then followeth a pronuntiation of Gods promises and pronesse to pardon and absolve us; Wee goe on to the

Lords Prayer, which having beene dictated by our Saviour himselfe, we often use, and is as *Amber* throwne in amongst our *Frankincense*, to make the Sacrifice more precious and pleasing unto God. Then we proceed to some choice Psalmes, and other portions of holy Scripture taken out of the old and new testament; Then we fall to the *Symbole of faith*, whereof we make a solemne joynt confession in such a posture as shews a readinesse and resolution in us to defend it: and so to the *Litanie*, wherein the poore penitent peccant soule may be said to breath out her self into the bosome of her Saviour by tender ejaculations, by panting groanes, and eviscerated ingeminations, and there is no sinne, no temptation whatsoever that humane frailtie is subject unto, but you shall finde a deliverance from it there; it is so full of Christian charity that there is no condition of people, but are remembered and prayed for there. Then we proceed by holy alternatife interlocutions (whereby we heare our selves speak as well as the minister) to some effectuall short prayers; because in long prayers the minde is subject to wander, as some Zelots now a dayes use to bring their Hearers into a *Wildernesse* by their *Prayers*, and into a *Labyrinth* by their *Sermons*. Then goe we on to the *Decalogue*, and if it be in a *Cathedrall*, there is time enough for the Hearer to examine himselfe, while the Musicke playes, where and when he broke any of Gods holy Commandements, and ask particular forgiveness accordingly; Then after other choice portions of Scripture, and passages relating to our Redemption, and endearing unto us the merits of it, with a more particular Confession of our *Faith*, we are dismissed with a *Benediction*: so that this *Lyturgie* may be called an Instrument of many strings, whereon the sighing soule sends up various notes unto heaven. It is a posie made up of divers flowers, to make it the more fragrant in the nostrills of God. Now touching your *Bishops* I never knew yet any Protestant Church but could be content to have them, had they meanes to maintaine the *Dignitie*, which the Churches of *France* with others have not in regard the Reformation began first among the people, not at *Court*, as here it did in *England*: For unlesse there be some Supervisers of Gods house, endowed with eminent authoritie to check the fond fancies, and quench the false fatuous-fires of every private spirit, and unlesse it be such an authoritie that may draw unto it a holy kinde of awe and obedience, what can be expected but confusion and *Asheisme*? You know what became of the *Israelites* when the wonted reverence to the *Ark*, and the *Ephod*, and the *Priest*,

began to languish amongst them : For the braine of man is like a garden, which unlesse it be fenced about with a wall or hedge, is subject you know to be annoyed by all kinde of beasts which will be ready to runne into it ; so the braine unlesse it be restrain'd and bounded in holy things by rules of Canonick authority, a thousand wilde opinions, and extravagant fancies will houely rush into it : nor was there ever any field so subject to produce Cockle and Darnell, as the braine is rank and ready to bring forth tares of Scisme and Heresie of a thousand sorts, unlesse after the first culture the sickle of Authority be applyed to grub up all such noisome weeds.

Pat. Yet this most ancient dignitie of *Bishops* is traduced and vilified by every shallow-pated petty Clerke, and not so much out of a true zeale, as out of envie that they are not the like. And touching our *Lyturgie*, whereof you have beene pleas'd to give so exact a Character, people are come to that height of impiety, that in some places it hath beene drowned, in other places burnt, in some places torn in peeces to serve for the basest uses, nay it hath beene preached publicly in Pulpit, *That it is a peece forged in the devils shop*, and yet the impious foule murtherd Babler never was so much as questioned for it. Nor did the Church only eccho with these blasphemies ; but the Presse was as pregnant to produce every day some Monster either against Ecclesiasticall, or Secular government. I am ashamed to tell you how some bold Pamphleters in a discourse of a sheet or two, would presume to question, to dispute of, and determine the extent of Monarchik jurisdiction, what sturdie doubts, what saucie *Queries* they put, what odd frivolous distinctions they fram'd, That the King though he was Gods *Anointed*, yet he was mans appointed : That he had the *commanding*, not the *disposing* power : That he was set to rule over, not to over-rule the people ; That he was King by humane choice, not by divine Charter ; That he was not King by the *grace of God*, so much as by the suffrage of the people ; That he was a *Creature and production of the Parliament* : That he had no implicite trust, nor peculiar propertie in any thing ; That *populus est potior Rege* : That *Grex lege, lex est Rege potentior* ; That the King was *singulis major, universis minor*, whereas a successive Monarch—*Uno minor est Iove*—Sometimes they would bring instances from the States of *Holland*, sometimes from the Republike of *Venice*, and apply them to Absolute and Independant Royaltie ; But I finde that the discourse and Inferences of these Grand Statists were bottomed upon

four false foundations, viz. That the King of whom they speake must be either a *Minor*, an *Idiot*, an insufferable tyrant, or that the Kingdome they mean, is *Elective*; None of all which is appliable, either to our most gracious and excellently quallified King, or to his renowned Kingdom, which hath been alwayes reputed an ancient successive Monarchie, governed by one supreme, undeposeable and independent Head, having the Dignitie, the Royall State, and Power of an Imperiall Crown, and being responsible to none but to God Almighty and his own *conscience* for his actions, and unto whom a Bodie Politicke compacted of Prelates, Peeres, and all degrees of people is naturally subject; but this is a theme of that transcendencie, that it requires a serious and solid *Treatat*, rather than such a slender Discourse as this to handle.

But I pray excuse me Sir, that I have stept aside thus from the Road of my main narration; I told you before, how the clashing 'twixt the *Commission of Array*, and the *Militia*, put all things in disarray throughout the whole Kingdom; The Parliament as they had taken the first Militarie guard, so they began to arme first, and was it not high time then for his Majestie to do something think you? yet he assayed by all wayes imaginable to prevent a War, and to conquer by a passive fortitude, by *cunctation*, and *longanimitie*. How many overtures for an accommodation did he make? How many Proclamations of Pardon? How many elaborate Declarations breathing nothing but clemencie, sweetnesse and truth did drop from his own imperious invincible pen, which will remain upon Record unto all Ages, as so many Monuments to his eternall glorie? Yet some ill spirit stept still in, between his Grace and the abused Subject, for by the peremptorie Order of Parliament (O monstrous thing!) the said Proclamations of Grace, and other his Majesties Declarations were prohibited to be read, fearing that the strength and truth of them would have had a virtue to unblinde, or rather unbewitch (*for Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft*) the poor besotted people? What deep Protestations, and holy Vowes did he reiterate, that the main of his Designs was to preserve the true Protestant Religion, the known Lawes of the Land, and the just Priviledges of Parliament? How often did he dehort and wooe the Citie of London (his *Imperial Chamber*) from such violent courses, so that she may justly be upbraided with the same words, as the *Prince of peace* upbraided Jerusalem withall: *London, London, How often would I have gathered thee,*

as an hen doth her chickens under her wings, yet thou wouldest not ?

How often did He descend to acknowledge the manner of demanding the one and five Members in his publike Remonstrances? And if there was an error in his proceedings, how oft did he desire his Great Councell to direct him in a course how to go on in the Empeachment? which they never did, but would reserve the priviledge to themselves to be Judge and Partie.

Peregr. Can your Parliament protect high Treason? I am sure the character of an Ambassadour cannot, which the late *French Ambassadour* (who for his time play'd his Cards more cunningly than ever Count *Gondamer* did) knew well; and therefore, as I heard some *French* men say, he got letters of Revocation before his designed time: But it seemes strange to me, that the King who is the Protectour of the Law, and Fountain of Justice, cannot have the benefit of the Law Himselfe; which the meanest of his Vassals can claim by right of inheritance: 'tis strange, I say, that the Law should be a dead letter to him who is the Life of the Law, but that for omission of some puntillio in the forme of the Proceffe, the charge of high Treason should be so slightly wav'd, specially Treason of so universall concernment, that it may be call'd a complication of many Treasons; for if in every petty State it be high Treason to treat onely with any Forraigne Power without the privitie of the Prince, it must needs be Treason of an higher nature actually to bring them in; and hereof I could alleadge you many pregnant instances, antient and moderne, but that I do not desire to interrupt you in your Relation.

Patr. The Parliament, as I told you before, armed apace, it was not fitting then his Majestie should sit idle; therefore he summons those Nobles and others, who had an immediate relation unto him by office or service, to attend him at *York*, according to their particular obligation and Oath: but it seemes the Parliament assumed power to dispence with those Oathes, and excuse their attendance, which dispensation prevailed with some (*tender*) consciences; yet the Great Seal posted to Court, and after it most of the Nobles of the Land, and the flower of the Gentry, with many of the prime Members of the Commons House; so that were it not for the *locall* priviledge, the Parliament, for number of Members, might be said to be ever since about the King: These Nobles and Gentlemen resenting his Majesties case, and what practices there were on foot to alter the Government both of

Church and State, not onely advised his Majestie to a royall War for defence of his Crown and Dignitie, but contributed very cheerfully, and have stood constant to the worke ever since.

Peregr. They have good reason for it, for the securitie of the Nobilitie and Gentrie depends upon the strength of the Crown, otherwise popular Government would rush in like a torrent upon them. But surely those Nobles, and those Parliament Gentlemen, and others, some of whom I understand, were reputed the wisest and best weigh'd men for experience and parts thorowout the whole Kingdom, and were cried up in other Parliaments to be the most zealous Patriots for the proprietie and freedom of the Subject, would never have stucke so firmly to His Majestie, had they not known the bottome of his Designs, that it was farre from his thoughts to bring in the *Pope* or *French* Government; for thereby they should have betrayed their own posteritie, and made their children slaves.

Patr. To my knowledge, these Nobles and Gentlemen are still the very same as they were in former Parliaments, wherein they were so cried up for the truest lovers of their Countrey, and best Commonwealths men; yet now they are branded, and Voted to be *Sedncers* and Traitors, because according to their Oathes and consciences, they adhere to the King their Master and Liege-Lord, for maintenance of that Religion they were baptized and bred in. Those most Orthodox and painfull Divines, which till the Parliament began, were accounted the precisest sort of Protestants, are now cried down for Papists, though they continue still the very same men, both for opinions and preaching, and are no more *Papists*, than I am a *Pysborean*. In fine, a true *English* Protestant is put now in the same scale with a Papist, and made *Synonyma's*. And truly these unhappy Schismatiques could not devise how to cast a greater infamie upon the *English* Protestant, than they have done of late by these monstrous imputations; they would fasten upon him such opinions which never entred into his thoughts, they would know ones heart better than himsele, and so would be greater *Kardiagnostickes* than God Almighty.

But to draw to a Conclusion; the Parliaments Armie multiplied apace in *London*, the Kings but slowly in the North, so that when he displayed his Royall Standard at *Nottingham*, his Forces were not any thing considerable, so that if the Parliaments Generall had then advanced towards him from *Northampton*, he had put him to a very great

strait; they encreased something at *Derby* and *Stafford*, but when hee was come to *Shrewsbury*, the Welch-men came running downe the mountaines in such multitudes, that their example did much animate the English; so that his Army in lesse than a moneth that the Court continued in *Shrewsbury*, came to neere upon twenty thousand Horse and Foot; nor was it a small advantage to his Majesties affaires, that the *Nephew-Princes* came over so opportunely. The first encounter Prince *Rupert* had with the Parliaments forces was at *Worcester*, where he defeated the flower of their Cavalrie, and gave them a smart blow. At *Shrewsbury* his Majestie tooke a resolution to march with his whole Armie towards *London*, but after seven dayes march he understood the Parliaments forces were within six miles side long of him, and so many miles he went out of his road to find them out, and face them: Upon a Sunday morning he was himself betimes on Edge-Hill, where the Enemies Colours plainly appear'd in the vale before Keinton; it was past two in the after-noon before all his Infantry could get to the bottom, who upon sight of the Enemies Colours ran as merrily down the hil, as if they had gone to a morris-dance. So his Majestie himselfe being Generalissimo, gave command the great Ordnance should fire for a defiance: so the battell began, which lasted above three houres; and as some French and Dutch Commanders told me, they never remembred to have seene a more furious fight for the time in all the German warres. Prince *Rupert* pursued the Enemies Horse like a whirl-winde neere upon three miles, and had there beene day enough, when he came back to the infanterie, in all probabilitie a totall defeat had beene given them: So that the same accident may bee said to fall out here, as happened in that famous battell at *Lewis*, in *Henry* the thirds time, where the Prince of Wales (afterwards *Edward* the first) was so eager, and went so far (by excesse of courage) from the body of the Army in pursuance of the Londoners. His Majestie (to his deserved and never-dying glory) comported himself like another *Cesar* all the while, by riding about and encouraging the Souldiers, by exposing his person often to the reach of a Musket-bullet, and lying in the field all that bleake night in his Coach. Notwithstanding that many lying pamphlets were purposely printed here, to make the world believe, that he had retired himselfe all the time of the fight; what partiall Reports were made in the *Guild-hall* to the *Londoners*, and by what persons, I am ashamed to tell you: But that his Majestie was victorious that day (a day which

I never thought to have seen in England) there be many convincing arguments to prove it; for besides the great odds of men which fell on their side, and Cannons they lost, some of their Ordnance were naid by the Kings Troopes the next morning after, in the very face of their armie. Moreover the King advanced forward the next day to his former road, and tooke Banbury presently after; but the *Parliamenters* went backwards, and so from that day to this, His Majestie continueth Master of the field. 'Tis true, that in some places, as at *Farnham, Winchester, and Chichester*, they have prevailed since, but no considerable part of the Royall Army was there to make opposition; and I blush to tell you, how unworthily the Law of Armes was violated in all those places.

Perig. Good Lord, how can the soules of those men that were in the Parliaments Army at *Keinton Battell*, dispense with the Oaths of Supremacie and Alleageance, besides the Protestation you speak of, they have taken to preserve the *Person*, honour, and prerogative of the King, when they thus actually bandy against his Person, and appeare in battell with all the engines of hostility against him.

Pat. I would be loth to exchange consciences with them, and boggle so with God Almighty, but these men by a new kind of *Metaphysick* have found out a way to abstract the *Person* of the King from his Office to make his Soveraigntie a kinde of *Platonick Idea* hovering in the aire, while they visibly attempt to assail and destroy his person (and Progeny) by small and great shot, and seek him out amongst his Life Guard with fire, and sword, yet they give out they fight not only not against him, but for him, and that their army is more loyall to him than his owne; who, they say, fight only for the name *King*, though they have his person really amongst them, commanding and directing: Thus they make him a strange kind of *Amphibium*, they make him in one instant a King and no King of the same *Individuum*; a power which the *Casuits* affirm God Almighty never assum'd to himself, *to do any thing that implys a contradiction.*

Pereg. Noble Sir, you make my heart to pant within me, by the Paratherick relation you have beene pleased to make mee of these ruthfull times; But one thing seemes to me to be no lesse than a miracle, how his Majestie hath beene able to subsist all this while, considering the infinite advantages the adverse partie hath had of him; for they have all the tenable places and townes of strength, both by Land and Sea; They have the *Navie Royall*, they have all the Ammunition and Armes of

of the Crowne, they have all the imposts and Customes, Poundage and Tonnage (which they levie contrary to their former Protestation before the Bill be passed) they have the Exchequer at their devotion, and all the Revenue of the King, Queene and Prince, and lastly, they have the Citie of *London*, which may be called a Magazin of money and Men, where there is a ready supply and superfluitie of all things, that may feed, clothe, or make men gay to put them in heart and resolution: Truly considering all these advantages, with divers others on their side, and the disadvantages on the Kings, it turnes me into a lump of astonishment, how his Majestie could beare up all this while, and keepe together so many Armies, and be still master of the field.

Pat. I confesse Sir, it is a just subject for wonderment, and we must ascribe it principally to God Almighty, who is the protectour of his Anointed, for his hand hath manifestly appear'd in the conduct of his affaires, He hath beene the Pilot, who hath sate at the helme ever since this storme began, and will doubtlesse continue to steere his course till he waite him to safe harbour againe; Adde hereunto, that his Majestie for his owne part, hath beene wonderfully stirring, and indefatigable both for his body and minde; and what notable things Her Majestie hath done, and what she hath suffered, is fitter for a Chronicle, then such a simple *Discourse*.

Hereunto may be added besides, that his Majestie hath three parts of foure of the Peeres, and prime Gentry of the Kingdome firme unto him, and they will venture hard, before they will come under a popular government and corporations; or let in *Knox* or *Calvin* to undermine this Church and State.

Pereg. Truly Sir amongst other Countries, I extreemely longed to see England, and am no sooner come, but I am surfettted of her alreadie, I doubt the old prophecie touching this Island is come now to be verified, That the *Churchman* was, the *Lawyer* is, and the *Souldier* shall be. I am afraid the *English* have seene their best dayes; for I finde a generall kind of insatuation, a totall Eclipse of reason amongst most of them; and commonly *a generall insatuation precedes the perdition of a people*, like a fish, that putrifieth first in the head; They say abroad, *Tis the Scots turne now to be a great Nation*. Therefore I will trusse up my baggage and over againe, after I have enjoied you some daies, and received your commands.

Patr. Dear Sir, If you seriously resolve to crosse the Seas again soon, I may chance bear you companie, for as you have since the short time of your sojourn here judiciously observed a nationall defection of reason in the people of this *Island*, which makes her so active in her own ruine; so by longer experience, and by infallible Symptomes, I finde a strange kinde of *Verigo* to have seized upon her, which I fear will turne to the falling Sicknesse, or such a Phrensie, that will make her to dash out her own braines; Nor are her miseries, I fear, come yet to the full; It is the method of the Almighty, when he pleases to punish a people, to begin with *rodde*s, to go on with *scourges*, and if they will not do, he hath *Scorpions* for them; therefore, I will breathe any where sooner than here: for what securitie or contentment can one receive in that Countrey, where *Religion* and *Justice*, the two grand *Dorique* Columnes which support every *State*, are fallen down: which makes all conditions of men, all professions and Trades to go here daily to utter ruine. The *Church man* growes every day more despicable, as if he had no propertie in any thing, nor is there any way left him to recover his *Tithe*, but by costly troublesome sutes. The *Civilian*, a brave learned profession, hath already made his last Will; and the *Common Lawyers* case is little better; the *Courtier* cannot get his Pension; the *Gentleman* cannot recover his rents, but either they are sequestred by an high hand of *unexampled* power, or else the poor Tenant is so heavily affests'd or plundered, that he is disabled to pay them in; all kinde of *Commerce* both domesticke and forraigne visibly decays, and falls more and more, into the hands of strangers (to the no small dishonour of the wisdom of this Nation;) nor can the *Tradesman* recover his debts, Parliamentary Protections continue still in such numbers, so that it is a greater Priviledge now to be a Footman to the meanest of the Lower House, than to be of the Kings Bed-Chamber: *Prentises* run away from their Masters, and against their fathers intent turne Souldiers, and for money, which is the soul of Trade, I believe since the beginning of this Parliament, above one halfe of the Treasure of the Kingdom is either conveyed to the other side of the Sea, or buried under ground, whence it must be new digg'd up again. Moreover, all things are here grown *Arbitrary*, (yet that word took off the Earle of *Straffords* head) *Religion*, *Law*, and *Allegiance* is grown *Arbitrary*; nor dares the *Judge* upon the Tribunal (according to his Oath) do justice, but he is over-awed by *Ordinance*.

or else the least intimation of the sense of the Lower House is sufficient to enioyne him the contrary, so that now, more than ever, it may be said here, — *Terras Astrae reliquit.* Peace also hath rov'd up and down this Island, and cannot get a place to lay her head on; she hoped to have had entertainment in *Yorkshire*, by the agreement of the best Gentlemen in the Country; but an *Ordinance* of Parliament beat her out of doores, then she thought to rest in *Cheshire*, and by a solemne Covenant she was promised to be preserved there; the principall Agents of that Covenant having protested every one upon the word of a Gentleman, and as they did desire to prosper, both themselves, their tenants and friends, should strictly oblerve it; but the like *Ordinance* of Parliament battered down that *Agreement*.

Then she thought to take footing in the West, and first in *Dorsetshire*, then in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, and by the holy tie of the blessed Sacrament, she was promised to be preserved there; but another Ordinance of Parliament is pursuing her, to dispense with the Commissioners of the said Agreement for their Oathes. Lastly, his Majestie is mainly endeavouring to bring her in again thorowout the whole Land, but the furious, phrenetique Schismatickes will have none of her; for as one of them (besides a thousand instances more) preach'd in one of the most populous Congregations about the Citie, *It were better that London streets ran with blood, and that dead carkasses were piled up as high as the battlements of Pauls, than peace should be now brought in.* And now that Peace is shut out, *Learning* is upon point of despair, her Colledges are become Courts of guard, and *Mars* lieth in *Mercurius* bed: *Honour* also, with her Court, lieth in the dust; the *Cobler* may confront the *Knights*, the *Boor* the *Baron*, and there is no Judiciall way of satisfaction; which makes *Monarchie* fear she hath no long time of abode here. *Publike* faith also, though she had but newly set up for herselfe, is suddenly become Bankrupt, and how could she choose? for more of the Kingdomes Treasure hath been spent within these thirty moneths, than was spent in four-score yeares before; but she hopes to piece up her selfe again, by the ruines of the Church; but let her take heed of that, for those goods have been fatall to many thousand families in this Kingdom: yet she thinks much, that those publike summes which were given to suppress one Rebellion (in *Ireland*) should be employed to maintain another Rebellion (in *England*.) And lastly, me thinkes, I see *Religion* in torne ragged weeds, and with slubber'd eyes, sitting upon *Warping Crosse*, and wringing her hands, to see her chiefest Temple

(*Pauls Church*) where God Almighty was us'd to be serv'd constantly thrice a day, and was the *Rendezvous*, & as it were the Mother Church, standing open to receive all commers and strangers, to be now shut up, and made onely a thorow-fare for Porters; to see those scaffolds, the expence of so many thousand pounds, to lie à rotting; to see her chiefest *lights* like to be extinguished; to see her famous learned Divines dragg'd to prison, and utterly depriv'd of the benefit of the Common Law, their inheritance: Me thinkes, I say, I see *Religion* packing up, and preparing to leave this Island quire, crying out, that this is a Countrey fitter for *Atheists* than *Christians* to live in; for God Almighty is here made the greatest *Malignant*, in regard his House is plunder'd more than any. There is no Court left to reforme Heresie, no Court to punish any Church Officer, and to make him attend his Cure, no Court to punish Fornication, Adulterie, or Incest; Me thinkes I hear *Her* crie out against these her Grand *Reformers* (or *Refiners* rather) that they have put division 'twixt all degrees of persons. They have put division 'twixt husband and wife, 'twixt mother and childe: the son seekes his fathers blood in open field, one brother seekes to cut the others throat; they have put division 'twixt Master and Servant, 'twixt *Land-lord* and *Tenant*; nay, they have a long time put a sea of separation 'twixt King and Queen; and they labour more and more to put division 'twixt the Head and the Members, 'twixt his Majestie and his politicall *Spouse*, his Kingdom; and lastly, they have plung'd one of the flourishingst Kingdomes of *Europe* in a War without end; for though a *Peace* may be plaster'd over for the time, I fear it will be but like a fire cover'd with ashes, which will break out again, as long as these fierie Schismatickes have any strength in this Island, so that all the premisses considered, if *Turke* or *Tartar*, or all the infernall spirits and *Cacodemons* of Hell had broken in amongst us, they could not have done poor *England* more mischief. Sir, I pray excuse this homely imperfect relation, I have a thousand things more to impart unto you when we may breathe freer aire; for here we are come to that slavery, that one is in danger to have his very thoughts plundered; therefore if you please to accept of my companie, I will over with you by Gods helpe, as soon as it may stand with your conveniencie, but you must not discover me to be an *Englishman* abroad, for so I may be jear'd at and kickt in the streets; I will go under another name, and am fix'd in this resolution, never to breathe *English* aire again, untill the *King* recovers his *Scepter*, and the *People* their *Senses*.

A Letter writ by Sergeant-Major KIRLE,
to a Friend at *Windſor*.

Sir,



You were pleased to command a constant account from me, as the onely requitall you would receive for admitting me an Officer in the Parliament Armie; and though divers things have come from us, which have been either doubted or contradicted, and seem to have no other credit than the Close Committee; yet what I am now about to tell you, shall run none of those dangers, but that with a great deal of confidence you may report, both in publique to the House, and in private to my friends, that I am now at *Oxford*; nor shall your wonder last long, for by that time I have declared upon what grounds at first I undertook that service, and upon what reasons I have since deserted it, I shall without doubt (where there is Charitie or Reason) free my selfe from the imputation of dishonour, and undeceive others that are, as I was, seduced.

About the time these distempers began here, I returned from serving the *Swede* in *Germanie*, and the States of *Holland*; in both which Countries, I cannot without vanitie say, I did nothing to the dishonour of mine own: as this absence made me ignorant of the condition of the Kingdom, so it rendred me more inclinable to receive an employment from the Parliament: for though neither my youth, nor this profelsion are curious after the affaires of State; yet so common were the grievances in that unhappy conjuncture of time, when I went abroad, that I retain'd the same impressions in me at my coming home, especially when I saw the complaints remain, but did not know that the Causes were taken away: thus possessed with prejudice, it was no hard thing for me to believe, that the pretences of War, (in themselves so specious) and the employment therein, to be full of Honour, Justice, and Pietie; and that there needed not the importunitie of my nearest friends, or an argument from the necessitie their former severitie had cast upon me, nor an invitation from your selfe, to seek for the preferment you speedily procured me.

How

How I behaved my selfe, while I was of your mind, and in that service, will be best judged by those, that know that from a Lieutenant I was soone preferred to be Captaine of a Troop raised to my hand: and shortly after, to be Sergeant-Major to the Earle of *Stamfords* Regiment of Horse: what prisoners I took, what contribution I brought in, what places and Townes I secured, appears by the testimony given of me, and the thanks I received from you. It is not therefore necessity has made me leave you to goe to the King, from whom you have taken not only His revenues which should give Him bread, but the benevolences (as far as in you lies) of His people that should maintaine His Army. It is not ambition, to forsake a certaine benefit for an uncertaine imployment, and (in justice) as doubtfull a pardon: it is not malice for any particular neglect or injury, for I must confesse no man received greater kindnesse from his superiour Officers, or more ample thanks from your selves then I have done; no civill humane respect, but a perfect discoverie of those false lights, that have hitherto misled me, and the deepe apprehension of the horror which attends the persevering in such errors.

I must confesse (though you would little thinke it) that Master *Sedgwick*, Chaplaine to that Regiment, first opened my eyes, and moved me to that reflection upon my self, which set me since in the right way: not by his perswasions or conversion, (for I can assure you, you may still confide in him) but by the Spirit (not that pretended to of meeknesse and peace, but) of fury and madnesse; he revealed the mystery of this war, and in his inspired rage, brake the shell, Religion, safety of the King, Libertie and proprieties: and shewed us the kernell, Atheisme, Anarchie, Arbitrary government and confusion. what was meant else by his sawcie and impertinent talking to God Almighty, whom he seemed rather to command than intreat? what was meant else by his traducing the King and cursing him, while he seemed to pray for him? and presently with a tone as gentle as his language magnifie the Worthies the Estates assembled in Parliament; what was meant else by encouraging violence, and sharing in things plundered? nor had one man given me a just prejudice of the cause, but that I saw the whole lump of these pseudo-clergie, seasoned with the same leaven, who hate (and so instruct the people) an innocent ceremony, but thirst after blood; who abhorre learning and Bishops, but adore ignorance and division; who while they are severe (and therein they doe well) against drunkennesse,

nefse and adultery, they make robbery, rebellion, sacriledge, and murder become vertues, because they are in order to effect their designes; and truly I had not trusted my eares, if the same and much more had not beene confirmed by my eyes; for those few regiments then with us were a perfect modell of the whole Armie, and most certaine I am, that all the Officers of no one Company were all of the same opinion what Religion they fought for: some loved the booke of Common-Prayer and Bishops, others were zealous for extemporary prayers and Elders, another thought Bishops so many Elders, and Elders so many Bishops, and therefore they fought to set Jesus Christ in his Throne, meaning independencie: Some liked the Chaplaine of the Regiment, another thought his Corporall preached better; some had so much of the spirit they wanted courage, and when they should fight, thought it better to pray, or els declared it was revealed unto them they should be beaten, and to fulfill the prophecy, threw downe their armes; and one would thinke, that every companie had been raised out of the severall Congregations of *Amsterdam*; who wanted not Scripture for every mutinie; who plunder and call it Gods providence, who if they cannot prove any of qualitie to be a Papist, yet as he is a Gentleman he shall want grace; and that is title enough to possesse the estates of all that are more richer than themselves: and in truth had it not beene for this perswasion, you might have made riots, but not a war; for under the promise of malignants estates are included, not onely those that directly take part with the King, but all those too that shall not concur with you in all things: hence it is that those were thought meritorious, who voted Bishops out of the House of Peeres, but are become Malignants, because they will not put them out of the Church: hence some that contributed with a large hand to this war, received marks of favour, but are become Malignants, because they will not give all that they are worth: hence those that in tumults cried for justice were worthy of thanks, but are become Malignants, because they will not helpe to depose the King. I shall not need to tell what dishonourable and indirect meanes have beene used to these ends, what burdens have beene laid upon weak consciences of some men by Divines, what preferment have beene promised to some, what threatnings have beene used to others; the sending of Horses, Monie, Plate, shall expiate for past sins, or cover others which by their busie emissaries they have found out, and will otherwise discover: he that has power in his Countrie and will use

it for you may oppresse his neighbour, who must not sue him because he is in their service, and if he would be revenged; it is no hard thing to procure a warrant and the Sergeants man, and lay him up till he find an accusation, to produce one he never meanes to prove. I could instance in divers, who have beene by these allurements, invited to this war, and so to the ruine both of themselves and families; nor can I forget that more obvious artifice, which has made the Presse the fruitfull Mother of many Bastards; when the taking three Scours in an Alehouse, has beene made at *London*, a Castle and the defeat of a Regiment, and *Cler. Parl.* has made the Pamphlet sell for a truth: when a defeat has beene voted a victory, and to amuse the People an Order has beene made, that God should be thanked for it, and indeed the Officers at last found that to tell truth when they had the worst, sometimes endangered their casheering, alwaies procured them an ill opinion, and when they saved the labour of doing the contrary, they were the better used, and therefore of late have justly wracked betwixt this *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, while they rather complied with their humour then obeyed truth, so that Religion is but the reverent name for blood and ruine: and it is most evident, it was onely used as a disguise, that we might with the more ease devoure one another, which nature otherwise would forbid us to doe.

Next to this nothing wrought more upon me, then that strange mysterie, that fighting for the safety of the King was shooting at Him; as at *Edge-bill* and elsewhere, where I thanke God I was not; for sure the apprehension is so horrid unto me, that had I been in that action, the wounds of my conscience would never have beene healed. I am told the lawes are very severe, not only against those that raise armes against the Crowne, and offer violence to the person of the King, but extend even to the intentions, words and thoughts: certaine I am, Religion and Nature ranke Treason and Rebellion among the fowlest sinnes, and followes them with the worst of punishments; and doubtlesse *Ravaillac* might as well have excused his bloody fact, by saying the King was in his way, when he stabbed him, as those that justifie these late actions, by saying his *Majestie* was among their enemies, when he was on his owne ground and amongst his own Servants: And who ever shall consider what his *Majestie* has done before this war began, in reparation of these errours past, what calumnies and reproaches he hath suffered since (*injuries not to be born by private spirits how beyond hope and expectation*)

Station His Armie rise from being despised to be justly feared; and lastly, what royall promises, and sacred Protestations He has so often and so solemnly made, cannot but renounce Charitie and Honour, or else he must believe and trust His Majestie, resent his sufferings, and acknowledge the miraculous hand of God in his preservation.

But I confesse the reason of complaining against you for using the King no better, seemes to grow lesse, whilst the Subject is in a much worse condition. Lawes we have indeed, but they are so little exercised, that shortly they will be buried in the places of those late risen Fundamentals, which no man yet could ere discover where they lay; when for the Libertie of the Subject, there is such good provision made, that whereas one Gaole was enough for a whole Countie, now there is more than one almost in every Parish; when the superscription of a Letter (and may be that fained too) the information of a malicious neighbour, a fear, a jealousy, deprives many of their libertie, some of their lives, most of their healths and fortunes; when the petitioning for Lawes established, and for Peace (without which we can enjoy neither Lawes nor Truth) are become (with the crime of Loyaltie) the onely things punished, and with such a severitie that as no condition, so no age is spared; the Youth entring into the world, and having undergone the labour of an Apprentiship, instead of being made free of the Citie, are to serve again in a prison; and those reverend Aldermen, who have gone through the severall Offices of *London* with honour, stooping under the weight of many yeares, and the infirmities thereof, have been drawn from their hospitable houses, (and some from their beds, where extreme age had kept them many yeares before) to loathsome prisons, from thence at midnight in cold and stormie weather, in a little Boat to *Gravesend*, and from thence to the unwholesome aire of some Port-town, that they might not live long, to bewaile that banishment from their dear wives and children.

And herein I acknowledge the greatest Justice, for Proprietie has no Priviledge above Libertie; for being lately at *London* I found Prisons and Plundering went hand in hand, and it is worth the observing how these Disbursements like hastie weeds, grew on a sudden to so great an height; as first a gentle Benevolence, then Subscription, then sending in Plate, next Taxations by an Order, at last the twentieth

part by an Ordinance; besides those smaller diversions of Underwriting for *Ireland*, and spending it in this War, of gathering for the distressed Protestants of that Nation, and bestowing that Charitie upon the Ministers of our own, whose seditious Sermons, had brought a just povertie upon them; of sequestering estates and Benefices, of taking Portions, and keeping Orphans upon Publique Faith, of seizing the Stockes of Churches, till by the same Publique Faith, they build or repair the same; and doubtlesse were not my thoughts more for the generall, than my private interest, I might easily and by authoritie grow rich with the spoiles of that Propriety you seem to defend, and as others be gallant with the overplus taken for the twentieth part; who likewise by an Order take the Coach-horses of persons of qualitie, and use them afterwards in their visits, and to Tavernes for the service of the Common-wealth.

I had not made instance in so many particulars, but to justifie myselfe thereby to all the world for what I have now done, which upon these considerations will be rather approved than condemned, by any that have not wholly given up their reason unto Faction, for doubtlesse dishonour is fixt upon levitie, ambition, cowardize, upon the persisting in that course which by conscience is declared unjust & irreligious. The breach of Articles renders void all Covenants, much more when that which is contracted for, is not onely altered but subverted. They were but pretences not realities I have hitherto served under, & Justice and Honour commands me to leave them. Some Souldiers take Honour in so large a sense, that if they took pay under the *Turke* they would not desert him: the comparison is not amisse: but sure where there is such an indifferencie, as to serve any for pay, Religion is no part of their Honour, but if they be of the *Mahometan* perswasion, I shall not blame them to be true to that service, no more than I do those here, if their consciences tell them decencie and order is Antichristian, and Authoritie and Magistracie Heathenish: for certain I am, there is nothing more base and unworthy a Gentleman and a Christian, than to forsake the dictates of his own reason and conscience, to persist in an erroneous way, because he has already entred into it: If this false opinion of Honour should be received as Orthodox, it will be in the power of every subtle Sophister, and cheating Mountebanke, to ingage men for ever in ignoble actions, because they brought them once to an opinion that conduced thereunto. And lastly, whereas the

end of War is Peace, what hope can there be of a reconciliation, or that those that have got the Regal and supreme power into their hands, should ever leave that which they have usurped, to resume that which they were borne to; or that the Officers of that Armie should consent to a Peace as long as they can have supplies of money: since that then a great part from being Colonels and Captaines, must again betake themselves to their aprons and shops, and instead of receiving pay, must bethinke themselves how to satisfie their beguiled Creditours: for my part, I am borne to no inconsiderable fortune, and as I abhorre my name should be branded with Treason, or that forfeited by a confiscation, so am I as loath we should ever be reduced to have a paritie in either (which is aimed at) or have both buried in the ruines of this miserable Nation.

I do protest, had none of these promises wrought upon me, yet the very sight of His Majesties Armie would have done it: the discipline, unanimitie, and exact obedience thereof, the excellent conversation of so many gallant and noble personages who know no other emulation than that of Honour, who dare do any thing but what is base, and (on my soul) daily expresse heartie desires of Peace (not out of any defect in the Armie) but to prevent the ruine, and procure the happinesse of their Countrey. To conclude, what *English* Gentlemen that ever heard of the ancient Honour of this Kingdom, or would preserve that of himselfe and familie, can tamely see our courage (terrible sometimes to forreigne Nations) basely degenerate into a Rebellion against our naturall Priace, to whom malice it selfe can object no crime, and therefore casts upon Him the faults of others, and since it cannot touch His Person, quarrels at his Crown: you see Him powerfull at the head of His Armie, and may see Him glorious in His Throne of Peace, you ought not to doubt His Justice, and (if you will) you may (as I have done) obtain His mercie.

Sir, I have freely told you my sense, if it hath any proportion to yours and so incline you to that effect it hath wrought in me, I shall take it (next to the condition I am in) as the greatest happinesse, and if I be so fortunate, since in these dangerous times you cannot safely convey it by Letters, let me know it by your publishing this, whereby also you may happily benefit others, and certainly oblige

Your humble Servant,

R. K.